

Transnationalism and integration : complements or Substitutes?

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Transnationalism and integration: Complements or Substitutes?

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Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between transnational practices and integration by testing whether they are substitutes or complements. For this purpose, we use a multidimensional transnationalism index. The index includes three dimensions of transnational practices, including migrants' economic, political, and socio-cultural transnational practices. These three dimensions and their aggregated index are then compared to both structural and socio-cultural integration. The analysis is based on data from 815 migrant households in the Netherlands, gathered among first generation migrants from Morocco, Burundi, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. Our results show that both structural and socio-cultural integration provides tentative support for the complementary typology. Lack of resources is significantly associated with transnationalism, but does not act as a moderator of the integration-transnationalism relationship. Among the four migrant groups studied in this paper, being multi-dimensionally transnational is associated with better structural and socio-cultural integration showing a complementary relationship. Implications for policy are discussed.

JEL classification: F22, Z1

Key words: migration, transnational migrants, integration, the Netherlands, transnational practices

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1. Introduction

Research into transnationalism has proliferated in the last decade. The relationship between transnationalism and integration is regaining attention (Tsuda, 2012). However, while attention to this topic has to be applauded, recent research often adopted a single dimension as the topic of investigation. The political (Guarnizo et al., 2003; Pantoja, 2005), economic (Marcelli & Lowell, 2005; Bilgili, 2013), and socio-cultural dimension (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002; Tamaki, 2011) are often separately discussed. Because these dimensions are related and overlap in practice, and because the different dimensions are relevant for a single outcome (Guarnizo, 2006), we choose a different approach. We take a holistic point of view exploring the association between integration (both structural and social-cultural) and three dimensions of transnational activity (socio-cultural, political and economic), as well as its association with a multidimensional transnationalism index created from these three dimensions. This paper contributes to the literature on transnationalism by proposing a holistic approach to transnational activities, and adds to the integration-transnationalism debate by testing the substitute and complementary typology for this relationship. Furthermore, we show the importance of migrants' financial resources in this relationship.

This paper continues by presenting arguments for a holistic approach to transnationalism. The typologies of the integration-transnationalism relationship and the arguments supporting the typologies are developed. In the methodology section that follows, the creation of the multidimensional transnational index will be elaborated upon, followed by the results of our analyses and the discussion.

2. Theory

The central terms in this research, transnationalism and integration, are not without debate. Glick Schiller et al. (1992) defined transnationalism as: "the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement...transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to *two* or more societies simultaneously"(p1-2; original emphasis). This definition makes clear that simultaneity - the pairing of integration in the host society and engagement with the origin country- is an important issue. In later operationalizations on the topic, the side of integration in the host society sometimes disappeared (see for a discussion of this: Tsuda 2012) and transnationalism is then defined as 'migrants' engagement with the country of origin'. In this paper we use transnationalism as migrant's origin country engagement, and investigate whether or not there is simultaneity with integration.

The term integration is also not without debate. At times the term assimilation or incorporation is used instead of integration. Since, in Europe, it is most common to speak of migrants' integration (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013), and the differences in operationalizations between the terms are small (DeHaas & Fokkema, 2011) we will use the term integration. Here, integration refers to the process of migrants' adaption to their host society.

2.1 Transnationalism and Integration

This paper builds on two recent theoretical papers by Tsuda (2012) and Erdal and Oeppen (2013) to

discuss the relationship between transnationalism and integration. Both papers discuss the issue of migrants' home land engagement in relation to their integration in the receiving country from a theoretical perspective. Tsuda (2012) proposes four typologies for this relationship:

Zero-Sum: If migrants engage with their homeland, they cannot invest the resources this costs in their integration process. The choice is thus to either invest resources in transnational practices or in integration.

Side by Side: Homeland engagement and integration are existing side by side, not influencing each other. They are separate and unrelated processes.

Positively reinforcing: Migrants investment in their home country engagement will lead to a better integration and vice versa. The processes are related and strengthen each other.

Negatively reinforcing: When migrants become marginalized in one society, this will negatively effect their investment in the other society. Thus the two processes can negatively reinforce each other.

Erdal and Oeppen (2013) propose three typologies for the relationship between integration and homeland engagement that show similarities with the typologies proposed by Tsuda (2012).

Additive: The result of the interaction is the sum of the two parts.

Synergistic: The result is greater than the sum of two parts.

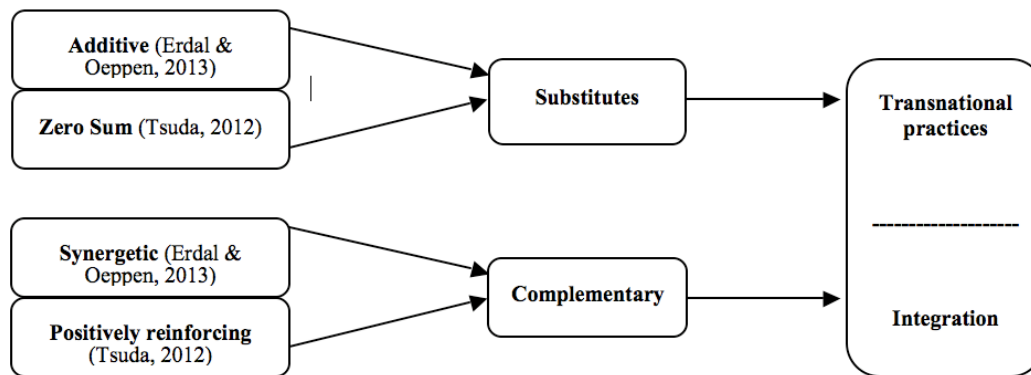
Antagonistic: The result is less than the sum of the two parts.

The negative reinforcing and the antagonistic typologies are very similar. Tsuda (2012) did not explore this negative reinforcing typology because he considered it unlikely to happen. The need for human resources and a feeling of belonging, which Tsuda (2012) assumes is shared worldwide, makes it more likely that when engagement with one society decreases, the migrant seeks to be more engaged with the other society rather than less. In agreement with Tsuda (2012), we do not use the negative reinforcing nor the antagonistic typology in our analysis.

The 'side by side' typology found in the paper by Tsuda (2012) is not a typology of the relationship, since it proposes that there is no significant relationship between integration and transnational practices. For this reason, we will not use it in our analysis.

The remaining four typologies are grouped in two typologies, as shown in figure 1. The first, which we name complementary, is similar to the synergistic typology of Erdal and Oeppen (2013) and the positively reinforcing typology by Tsuda (2012). Accordingly, the processes of integration and homeland engagement reinforce each other. An increase in the engagement with one society will lead to an increase in the engagement with the other. In our second typology, the substitute typology - which is similar to the zero sum (Tsuda, 2012) and additive (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013) typologies, the two processes of integration and homeland engagement are substitutes. When migrants become increasingly engaged with one society, their engagement with the other society will decrease.

Figure 1: Typologies of the transnational practices - integration relationship



2.2 Transnationalism and integration as complements

Engagement in transnational practices might lead to skill development that benefits integration in the receiving country (Karpathakis, 1999; Morales & Morariu, 2011; Tsuda, 2012). Oeppen (2013) found that migrants' transnational practices, namely visits to the country of origin, can provide resources for the migrant that can be invested in integration. In this case transnational activities provide resources instead of being a financial burden. This effect can also take place in the opposite direction; when migrants integrate, they gain resources, which they can use for their transnational practices (Lacroix, 2013).

An argument for the complementary typology of integration and transnational practices that is unrelated to financial resources is proposed by Erdal & Oeppen (2013), who argue that the boost to self-esteem from participation in one society, might help the migrant to simultaneously participate in the other society. The reasons behind the relationship between transnational practices and integration lie outside of the scope of this research, and might be an object of future research. Nevertheless, the aforementioned arguments make it clear that transnationalism and integration can reinforce each other and therefore we hypothesize that:

H1(Complements): Migrants who are better integrated show a higher degree of participation in transnational practices, keeping all other variables constant.

2.3 Transnationalism and integration as substitutes

Migrants' transnational practices, which can be viewed as a linear continuation of the relationships with people in their home country (Itzighsohn & Saucedo, 2002), will fade when migrants become better integrated according to assimilation theory. Especially new migrants who are marginalized are expected to experience a trade-off between investing in integration or in their transnational practices (Tsuda, 2012). Two reasons for this can be formulated. First, new migrants often lack resources. Resources such as money can only be spent once, so migrants either use it in the receiving country or in their country of origin (Kvisto, 2001). Due to its resource dependency, engagement in transnational

practices can hinder integration (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Marger, 2006). Secondly, migrants who experience marginalization or discrimination are expected to turn to their transnational relations to fulfil their need for belonging (Levitt, 2001; Portes et al. 1999, Tsuda, 2012) and meet their financial needs (Cohen & Sirkeci, 2005; Marger, 2006). From this, we hypothesize that:

H2 (Substitutes): Migrants whom are better integrated participate less in transnational practices than their less integrated counterparts, keeping all other variables equal.

2.4 Resource dependency; a moderator of the integration-transnationalism relationship?

Not all migrants are equally likely to engage in positively reinforcing transnationalism (Tsuda, 2012). High-skilled migrants, who have acquired more financial resources, are more likely to do so. This idea is supported by findings of Portes et al. (2002) who found that migrants participating in economic transnational practices, which in their strict definition only contained transnational entrepreneurs, were the better educated, wealthier migrants who have been in the receiving country longer than the average migrant. Mazucatto (2008) found that migrants' dual engagement was hampered by the lack of resources, even when they are willing, the lack of resources can make transnational engagement a balancing act for migrants. For these migrants, everything they invest in their transnational activities they cannot invest in their integration process. For migrants who do not experience financial need, their resources may be more abundant and therein investment in one society does not directly limit investment in the other society. Therefore we hypothesize that:

H3: Among migrants who experience financial needs, the association between integration and transnational practices is more negative compared to this relationship among migrants who do not experience financial needs.

3. Methods & Data

3.1 Data Analysis

For this paper data from the IS Academy on Migration and Development was used. This data was collected from 1022 household in the Netherlands representing four migrant groups, Ethiopian (351), Burundian (164), Moroccan (247) and Afghan (260) migrants. Data was collected between July 2010 and July 2012. This study analyses main respondents of the survey who are first generation migrants only. This leaves us with data on 259 Afghan, 217 Moroccan, 164 Burundian and 350 Ethiopian migrants. In this sample, 44 percent are females, and the average age is 38 with a standard deviation of 11 years. A table with descriptive statistics of the data can be found in the appendix (table 1). For more information on the survey methodology and sampling see Bilgili (2012).

3.2 Method

In this paper we use a multidimensional approach to transnationalism creating two multidimensional transnationalism indices, a regular (MTI) and a more intense index (I-MTI). These indices are binary indicators. For a detailed description of the creation of this index we refer to Dekker and Siegel (forthcoming). We compare the results from the logit regression on the binary dependent variables MTI and I-MTI with an ordinary least squares regression on a counting index which uses continuous

dependent variables, ranging from 0 to 10. This counting index is created with the same variables as the MTI with the same cut-off points.

3.3 Dependant variables

Transnational practices based on each dimension and the aggregated MTI and I-MTI are used as dependent variables. We investigate the different dimensions of the MTI and I-MTI separately, as well as the indices created from these dimensions. Furthermore, we have created a continuous index to compare with the binary index.

3.3.1 MTI Political Dimension

Based on data availability three indicators were selected that measure political transnational practices. The first is membership in a political organization in the origin country. Answers were given as 'not member', 'active member', 'inactive member'. In order to qualify as transnational on this indicator, we consider being a member as sufficient. The second indicator is reading newspapers from the origin country. Answers were given on a 5-point scale ranging from 1) every day to 5) less often/never. Respondents whom answer 1 to 4 (4=a few times a month) are considered transnational. The third indicator is keeping up to date on origin country politics. The question here was; when you are calling with people from your origin country, how often do you speak on origin country politics, and how often do you give advice on political matters in these conversations? Answers range from 1) never to 4) all the time. We consider at least 2 (sometimes) as transnational. Table 1 shows the cut-off points chosen, as well as the percentage of respondents qualifying as transnational. The intense-MTI requires stricter cut-offs: 1) reading newspapers at least once a week, 2) conversations with friends or family about origin country politics frequently, and 3) being an active member of a political organisation in the origin country. In table 1, under the heading *Answers Qualifying*, the range of numbers is provided that qualify as transnational in this indicator. The numbers refer to the column *Answer scale used*. For the intense-MTI, multiple cut-off possibilities are given. The cut-off chosen is bold. To qualify as transnational in the political dimension one needs to be transnational in at least two out of the three indicators. The final row of table 1 shows the percentages of respondents qualifying, 38 percent under the MTI and 14 percent under the intense MTI.

Table 1: Indicators of political transnationalism

		MTI		Intense-MTI	
	Answer scale used:	Answers qualifying	Percent of respondents qualifying	Answers qualifying	Percent of respondents qualifying
Reading O.C. ¹ newspapers	1- everyday	1-4	55.0%	1-3	44.7%
	2- several times a week				
	3- once or twice a week			1-2	34.2%
	4- a few times a month			1	22.8%
Talking on the phone about O.C. politics or giving advice about OC.	5- less often/never	2-4	55.2%	3,4	20.8%
	1- Never 2- Sometimes 3- Frequently			4	7.3%

¹ Within the tables *country of origin* is shortened to *O.C.*

politics.	4- All the time				
Membership political organization O.C.	1- Active member 2- Inactive member 3- Not member	1,2	5.6%	1	1.8%
Percent of respondents considered transnational in the political dimension under MTI/MTI-I			38.4%		13.8%

3.3.2 MTI Economic dimension

Three indicators are used for the economic dimension which have all been draw from the literature (Dekker & Siegel, forthcoming): 1) frequency of sending monetary remittances, 2) investments made in the origin country in home or land ownership, and 3) the frequency of giving advice on job related matters to people in the origin country. In the first indicator, any frequency of sending monetary remittances is considered transnational for the MTI. For the I-MTI, the cut-off is 'once every six months'. The second indicator is binary, if migrants have invested or own land or a house in the country of origin they are considered transnational in this indicator. For the last indicator, frequency of giving advice, the cut-off is 'sometimes', and thus respondents who give advice sometimes or more frequently are considered as transnational in this indicator. For the intense MTI, the cut-off is set at 'frequently', and only respondents whom give advice 'frequently' or 'all the time' are considered transnational in this indicator. Table 2 shows the percentages, and the influence of the choice of different cut-offs at the indicator level. We find that 40% of our sample is transnational in sending money while 20% have invested in the origin country. 62% give advice on job related matters and 40% are transnational in the economic dimension aggregated.

Table 2: Indicators of economic transnational dimension

		MTI		Intense-MTI	
	Answer scale used:	Answers qualifying	Percent of respondents qualifying	Answers qualifying	Percent of respondents qualifying
Frequency of sending money	1- Several times per month	1-7	40.3%	1-6	32.3%
	2- Once per month			1-5	22.3%
	3- Once every 2 months				
	4- Once every 3 months			1-4	13.5%
	5- Once every 6 months				
	6- Once a year			1-3	6.0%
	7- Other			1-2	3.9%
	8- I don't				
Investments in O.C.	1- Yes 0- No	1	20.7%	1	20.7%
Giving advice on job related matters	1- Never	2-4	61.9%	3,4	23.8%
	2- Sometimes				
	3- Frequently			4	17.5%
	4- All the time				
Percent of respondents considered transnational in the economic dimension under MTI/MTI-I			39.9%		14.3%

3.3.3 MTI Socio-cultural dimension

Within the socio-cultural dimension we employ four indicators measuring if respondents: 1) maintain contact with the origin country, 2) visit their origin country regularly, 3) have membership of origin country based organizations, and 4) if they are a member of diaspora organizations. The membership questions are answered by indicating whether respondents are an active member, non-active member, or not a member. Membership is considered sufficient and qualifies as transnational in that indicator for the general MTI. For the intense MTI, the cut-off point is set at being an active member.

Maintaining contact with family and friends in the origin country is answered on a scale ranging from 1) 'no contact at all', to 8) 'everyday'. For the general MTI, the cut-off point was chosen at 2) 'every few years'. The stricter cut-off for the intense MTI was set at: 6) 'every month'. Visiting the origin country is a frequency, ranging from 1) 'never' to 6) 'a few times a year'. The cut-off point for the general MTI was chosen at: 2) 'once every few years'. Respondents whom visit their origin country are considered transnational in this indicator. For the intense MTI the cut-off is set at 3) 'visiting the country of origin every other year'. Table 3 shows these answer possibilities and the respondent percentages of migrants whom are considered transnational. 52% of our sample visits their origin country while 85% maintain regular contact with family and friends. 21% are members of a public organization and 18% are members of a diaspora organization in the origin country.

Table 3: Indicators of the socio-cultural transnational dimension

	Answer scale used:	MTI		Intense-MTI	
		Answers qualifying	Percent of respondents qualifying	Answers qualifying	Percent of respondents qualifying
Visiting O.C.	1- Never 2- Once every few years 3- Every other year 4- Once a year 5- Twice a year 6- Few times a year	2-6	51.5%	3-6 4-6 5,6 6	30.1% 21.3% 5.6% 1.4%
Maintaining contact with friends & family in O.C.	1- No contact at all 2- Every few years 3- Once a year 4- Twice a year 5- Every three months 6- Every month 7- Every week 8- Every day	2-8	85.4%	3-8 4-8 5-8 6-8 7,8 8	81.7% 78.6% 74.2% 63.4% 37.6% 3.9%
Membership public organization in O.C.	1- Active member 2- Inactive member 3- Not member	1,2	20.9%	1	9.6%
Membership diaspora organization in host country	1- Active member 2- Inactive member 3- Not member	1,2	17.8%	1	11.3%
<i>Percent of respondents considered transnational in the socio-cultural dimension under MTI/MTI-I</i>			67.2%		40.7%

3.3.4 MTI and MTI-intense

From the three dimensions discussed above we create the binary indicators MTI and I-MTI. The indices differ on the cut-off points of the indicators as can be seen in tables 1 to 3. To qualify as multidimensionally transnational one needs to be transnational in at least two dimensions. Table 4 summarized the percentages considered transnational in the dimensions and shows the percentages of respondents whom are multidimensional transnational. Almost half of the sample is considered multidimensionally transnational while the greatest number of people are transnational in the socio-cultural dimension.

Table 4: Percentage of respondents transnational in the different dimensions and indices

	MTI	Intense-MTI
Political Dimension	38.4%	13.8%
Economic Dimension	39.9%	14.3%
Socio-cultural dimension	67.2%	40.7%
Multidimensional transnational	48.9%	15.1%

3.4 Independent Variables

3.4.1 Structural Integration

Following DeHaas and Fokkema (2011) and Snel et al. (2006) we make a distinction between structural and socio-cultural integration. For structural integration three variables are included: migrants' employment status, citizenship status and education level. The first is a categorical variable 1) employed, 2) in education, 3) unemployed or 4) inactive. Employed is used as the reference group. The citizenship variable is a binary variable that reports whether or not respondents have Dutch citizenship. The categorical variable educational level reports the highest level of education a respondent has successfully followed. The three categories are: 1) no formal education or primary school, 2) secondary school, and 3) higher than secondary school. Two economic indicators are included in the analysis: per capita income (household level), and an index that measures if people can afford certain basic wants if they would desire them. This 'experiencing financial need' index consists of six items that were answered by yes or no questions. The number of items people reported not to be able to afford were aggregated to create the index, and thus ranges from zero to six. For instance, *keeping your house adequately warm, or eating meat, chicken or fish every second day if wanted*.

3.4.2 Socio-Cultural Integration

Five indicators of socio-cultural integration are drawn from the literature (Snel et al., 2006; Fokkema & DeHaas, 2011). 1) Informal contacts with native residents, measured by how often respondents report spending time with Dutch people in leisure time. Answers were given on a six step frequency scale and range from 'every day' to 'never'. 2) Migrants' opinions on egalitarian gender roles; this was measured by presenting a scale with four statements on which respondents could indicate the extent to which they agree with these. The statements are: *education is more important for boys than for girls; only men*

should make decisions about big spending; only women should take responsibility for the household; only men should be responsible for providing/earning income. Answers were given on a 5 point likert scale, ranging from 1) completely agree to 5) completely disagree. The internal consistency of this scale, as measured by Chronbach's alpha, is .80. 3) Participation in organizations in which Dutch people participate; a binary variable of whether or not respondents are a member of such an organization. 4) Dutch language fluency, for which respondents self-reported how well they speak and understand Dutch. Answer possibilities ranged from not at all to very well. 5) Following Bilgili and Siegel (forthcoming), we included a measure of Dutch cultural and media consumption. A scale of three items was created, measuring the frequency of listening to Dutch music, visiting Dutch websites and reading Dutch newspapers. Answer possibilities for these items ranged from 1) less often/never, to 5) every day. Chronbachs alpha for this scale was .75.

3.4.3 Political participation in the Netherlands

In order to measure political participation of respondents in the Netherlands, they were asked if they have voted in the last local election in the Netherlands.

3.4.4 Control variables

Several control variables are included in the regression. These are: gender, age at migration, country of origin, time in the Netherlands, return intentions and the experience of events with a negative financial impact. The variable country of origin refers to the migrants' country of origin; these are Ethiopia, Morocco, Burundi or Afghanistan. Ethiopia is used as reference group.

Since the relationship between transnational practices and integration may change over time (Tsuda, 2012), we have included a categorical variable which measures the number of years since migration. Three categories distinguish the newly arrived whom have been in the Netherlands for less than four years , those whom are in the Netherlands between four and 15 years, and respondents whom are in the Netherlands for more than 15 years (used as the reference group).

Due to the fact that migrants return intentions can be related to their transnational participation, a measure for return intention was included in the regressions as a control variable (Bilgili & Siegel, forthcoming). The categories are: no intention to return (reference group), intention to return permanently to the origin country, desire to return temporarily to the origin country.

Nine different events with a negative impact on the household income were measured, the dummy variable included in the analysis measures whether or not a respondents' household has experienced at least one of these events. The events are: wedding costs, serious illness (longer than 3 months), accident, divorce, job loss, loss of legal status, victim of theft or other crime, low business return, and death.

4. Results

Table 5 displays the model fit information and odds ratios for the different variables from the binary logit regressions. The columns represent different outcome variables, that is, the political-, economic-, and socio-cultural dimensions and the normal MTI and the intense MTI. The last column represents the

standardized coefficients from an ordinary least squares regression on the count index of the normal MTI. The dimensions represented in Table 5 are the dimensions as used in the calculation of the normal MTI. Before we turn to the hypothesis testing, it is interesting to note that the country of origin is an important determinant of transnational behaviour even when controlling for all other variables. Moroccans are more active in socio-cultural transnationalism than the other three nationalities. Ethiopians are the most active in the economic dimension. In the political dimension Ethiopians, Moroccans and Burundians do not significantly differ from one another. Afghans are less active in this and all other dimensions of transnational practices. An explanation for these discrepancies is not evident within recorded differences in their financial possibilities or length of stay in the Netherlands - these variables are controlled for. It is therefore most likely that the reasons are to be found in the country of origin itself - the unstable situation in Afghanistan might prevent Afghans from participating in transnational practices - or it might decrease their willingness to do so.

Table 5: Odds ratios of logit regression of integration on transnational practices, by dimension and index						
	Political	Economic	Socio-Cultural	MTI	MTI-I	Regression on count index, standardized coefficients
Structural Integration						
Employment status (reference:employed)						
In Education	.96	1.02	.65	.85	1.22	-0.04
Unemployed	1.26	.44**	1.07	.88	.68	-0.05
Inactive	1.67	.38**	.74	.80	.98	-0.07
Dutch Citizenship	.69	1.14	2.12**	1.48	1.28	-0.01
Educational level (reference: primary school or below)						
Secondary school	2.50*	1.04	.62	1.42	1.32	0.01
Higher than secondary school	3.57**	1.65	1.19	2.46**	3.32**	0.13*
Per capita income (per 1000\$/yr)	1.01	1.02	1.00	1.01	1.02	0.09**
Experiencing Need	.841**	.90*	.96	.82**	.93	-0.08*
Socio-Cultural Integration						
Frequency of spending leisure time with Dutch people	1.08	.93	1.00	1.00	1.02	0.02
Membership organization	1.26	1.13	1.64**	1.48*	.97	0.08*
Dutch Language ability	.91	.80	1.05	.88	.76	-0.02
Dutch cultural consumption	1.24*	.92	.91	1.03	1.05	0.05

Modern values	1.02	.88	.81	.88	.95	-0.04
Political Participation						
Voted in last local elections	1.67*	1.03	1.12	1.30	1.40	0.10*
Control Variables						
Country of Origin (reference: Ethiopia)						
Morocco	.56	.40**	3.85**	.50**	2.02	-0.03
Burundi	.95	.53*	.43**	.47**	1.56	-0.08*
Afghanistan	.46**	.26**	.23**	.23**	.53	-0.24**
Gender (male=1)	1.73**	1.07	.92	1.29	1.48	0.05
Years in NL(reference: >15 years)						
0-3 years	1.63	.72	.83	1.37	.34	0.01
4-15 years	1.49	.76	.76	1.07	.97	0.00
Age at moment of migration	1.06**	1.01	1.02	1.04**	1.03*	0.21**
Return Intentions (reference: no intentions)						
Permanent return	1.27	1.66*	1.94*	1.34	2.89**	0.15**
Temporary return	1.06	1.06	1.68*	1.05	1.47	0.08*
Experience of events with negative financial impact	.98	1.94**	1.36	1.42*	1.84**	0.11**
_cons	.02**	2.65	3.06	.43	.02**	
n	839	839	839	839	839	839
Prob > chi2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pseudo R2	0.18	0.15	0.19	0.15	0.14	0.22
*Indicates significance: * 5% **1%						

4.1 Hypothesis tests

Hypothesis one states that the better integrated migrants are, the more they participate in transnational activities. Its opposing hypothesis, H2, states that less integrated migrants are more likely to participate in transnational practices. To draw conclusions on these hypotheses, we discuss all integration measures: structural integration, socio-cultural integration and political participation. Attention is paid to their associations with transnational practices in the different domains included in the analysis, as well as the different ways of measuring (MTI, count index). First we discuss the results on the dimensions, thereafter we address the multidimensional indices and the count index.

4.1.1 Structural Integration

Table 5 shows the five indicators of structural integration and their relation to transnationalism. The first three, employment status, Dutch citizenship and educational level all show significant associations with one of the dimensions of transnational practices. None of them show significant associations with more than one dimension. Employment status is significantly associated with the economic dimension. Better integration, being employed instead of unemployed or inactive, is associated with a higher chance of being transnational in this dimension. Having Dutch citizenship is associated with a higher chance of being transnational in the social dimension; migrants who hold Dutch citizenship are 112 percent more likely to be considered transnational compared to migrants that do not have Dutch citizenship, keeping all other variables constant. Educational level shows a positive association with political transnationalism. The higher the educational level of the migrant, the higher the chance that (s)he participates in political transnational practices. Experiencing financial need, is significantly associated with both the political and the economic dimension, but not so with the socio-cultural dimension. Migrants who experience financial need are less likely to be transnational in both the political and economic dimension compared to migrants who do not experience financial needs. The variable 'income per capita' shows no significant relations with any dimension. The structural integration indicators that are significantly related to transnationalism all support hypothesis 1 over hypothesis 2 - that structurally better integrated migrants are more transnational.

4.1.2 Socio-cultural Integration

In the analysis, five socio cultural integration indicators are included. Dutch cultural consumption shows a significant positive association with the political dimension, and membership in Dutch organizations shows a significant positive association with the socio cultural dimension. The socio cultural indicators do not show any significant association with the economic dimension of transnationalism. Membership of an organization in which Dutch people participate is associated with a higher chance of participating in socio-cultural transnationalism. Keeping all other variables constant, the odds that a migrant is transnational in the socio-cultural dimension increases by 60 percent when this migrant is a member (compared to non-member) of an organization in which Dutch people participate. This effect is significant at the one percent level. The variable Dutch cultural consumption is associated with the political dimension with a one-step increase in the Dutch cultural consumption scale is related to a 24% increase in the odds of being politically transnational. The other variables, frequency of spending leisure time with Dutch people, Dutch language ability and the variable

equalitarian gender roles show no significant associations with any dimension, positive nor negative. The relationship between socio-cultural integration and transnationalism is limited, but the two significant associations that were found both support hypothesis one over hypothesis two.

4.1.3 Political participation

Political participation in the Netherlands shows a significant positive relationship with political transnational activities. The odds of a migrant being transnational in the political dimension is 67% higher for migrants who voted in Dutch local elections compared to the group of migrants not voting. Political participation is not significantly related to other dimensions. This result gives support to the complementary hypothesis over the substitute hypothesis.

4.1.4 Multidimensional transnationalism and the count index

The results discussed above clearly point towards confirming hypothesis one over hypothesis two, the significant associations between the integration variables and the dimensions were all positive. Thus, more integration is associated with a higher participation in transnational practices. If we look at the MTI, the associations that are significant point in the same direction. However, there are a fewer significant associations found. This can be explained by the differing effects some of these variables have on the three dimensions, e.g. Dutch citizenship has a significant positive association with the socio cultural dimension of the MTI. However the relationship with MTI's political dimension is negative, though not significant. Variables that do have a significant association with the indices are educational level, the higher educated the more migrants participate in transnational practices, and the experience of events with a negative financial impact. Migrants who experience such an event are more likely to be multidimensional transnational.

Migrants who are intensively engaged in transnational practices in different dimensions are not better integrated than the group that is not intensively engaged. The educational level (highest level only) is positively and significantly associated with the I-MTI, thus the highest educated migrants are more likely to be considered intensively multidimensional transnational. Findings for the MTI show significant difference between countries of origin. Country of origin is not significantly associated with the I-MTI, however, it is significantly associated with migrants intension to permanently return to their country of origin.

The regression on the count index shows many similarities with the MTI, which seems logical since they use the same indicators and cut-off levels. There are some differences however, that might be explained by the nature of the two measures. All variables, but one, that show a significant association with the MTI are also significantly associated with the count index. There are a few variables that are significantly related with the count index, but not with the MTI. Political participation is one of them. A multidimensional index such as the MTI limits the importance of one dimension through the way it is created: being very active in the political transnational practices but not in the other dimensions will be considered as not multidimensional transnational - and therefore these migrants are not included in the group of transnational migrants. A count index includes all variables at all times, not limiting the importance of one dimension. Both approaches have merits – and both can inform the other.

From this analysis we can confirm findings in the recent literature that point towards the simultaneity of integration and transnationalism. The significant associations found between integration variables and transnationalism, though limited in number, were all positive and thus in support of the complementary hypothesis.

4.1.5 Resource dependency

The third hypothesis discusses the moderating role of resources in the integration-transnationalism relationship. The results in Table 5 show that resources are important; the lack of financial resources is significantly associated with political and multidimensional transnationalism. Per capita income is only significant with the count index, higher income being associated with more indicators in which a person is transnational. However, these results do not confirm or reject hypothesis three. To investigate this matter we have done a separate analysis (not reported here), using the financial need variable and interacting this with different integration variables. These were not significant, and thus we cannot confirm that the relationship between integration and transnationalism depends on the lack of resources.

5. Discussion

Following the theoretical papers by Erdal & Oeppen (2013) and Tsuda (2012), this paper was designed to examine the relationship between integration and transnational practices. It employs the typologies proposed in the papers and examines them empirically using a holistic approach to transnational practices. To do so, we have adopted the innovative multidimensional approach. The results show, partially in line with Snel et al. (2006), that integration relates in several different ways with the different transnational dimensions and the overall multidimensional index. Our results provide tentative support for the complementary typology, supporting hypothesis one.

A variable that has a strong consistent effect on two dimensions and the MTI is the inability to afford certain basic needs. This variable is negatively but significantly associated with all but the socio-cultural dimension and the I-MTI. The income per capita variable shows no significant associations other than with the count index. This suggests that transnational engagement requires some resources, but once the minimum amount of resources is acquired, additional monetary resources do have a significant influence. In line with findings by Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002), we found that transnational practices are resource dependant when migrants are trying to make ends meet. The relationship between integration and transnationalism was not moderated by the lack of resources more generally. Lack of resources has a direct effect, but it does not change the interaction between integration variables and transnational practices. Thus the positive associations between integration variables and transnational practices also apply to the group of migrants who are making ends meet.

An important finding in this paper is that migrants' transnational practices are not inversely related to integration in the host society. Even migrants whom participate intensively in multidimensional transnational practices do not show to be less integrated than migrants who focus only on the receiving country. Our results suggest that the two processes are complementary. Therefore, the double loyalty issue for transnational migrants and those holding dual nationality should be regarded from a different point of view. For the development impact of migration, our findings

suggest that migrants' integration is important for their transnational engagement. Socio-cultural measures of integration appear to be less relevant than the economic resources and structural integration. Thus, to enhance migration policy for development purposes, the economic and structural integration categories need to be targeted.

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Appendix

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the independent and control variables

		Overall	Ethiopia (n=281)	Morroco (n=175)	Burundi (n=139)	Afghanistan (n=222)
	min/max	mean / %				
Gender (percent of females)		44%	36%	58%	34%	50%
<i>Years in the Netherlands</i>						
0-3 years		16.3%	38.1%	1.7%	6.5%	6.3%
4-15 years		49.2%	28.8%	24.0%	92.8%	67.6%
16 years or more		34.5%	33.1%	74.3%	0.7%	26.1%
Age at moment of migration (years)	1/62	24.8	27.5	18.4	27.9	24.6
<i>Return Intentions</i>						
No return intension		51.8%	36.3%	69.1%	66.9%	48.2%
Permanent return		22.2%	44.1%	16.6%	9.4%	6.8%
Temporary return		26.0%	19.6%	14.3%	23.7%	45.0%
<i>Educational Level</i>						
Primary or below		10.7%	1.8%	34.3%	4.3%	7.2%
Secondary school		55.1%	59.1%	47.4%	59.0%	53.6%
Higher than secondary school		34.3%	39.2%	18.3%	36.7%	39.2%
Experience of events with negative financial impact (yes=1)		43.7%	36.3%	56.6%	46.0%	41.4%
Structural Integration						
<i>Employment status</i>						
Employed		44.7%	47.7%	49.2%	43.2%	38.3%
In Education		25.0%	32.7%	5.1%	26.6%	29.7%
Unemployed		11.4%	8.2%	10.9%	22.3%	9.0%
Inactive		19.0%	11.4%	34.9%	7.9%	23.0%
Dutch Citizenship		61.6%	41.6%	80.0%	38.1%	86.9%
Sociocultural Integration						
Frequency of spending leisuretime with Dutch people	1/6	2.9 (sd=1.5)	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.6
Dutch cultural consumption	1/5	3.0 (sd=1.3)	2.8	2.7	3.5	3.3
Western values	0/4	3.2	3.6	2.8	3.2	2.9
Membership organisation		55.7%	55.2%	41.7%	71.9%	57.2%
Dutch Language ability	1/4	3.0 (sd=1.0)	2.5	3.2	3.2	3.3
Political participation						
Voted in last local elections		43.7%	31.0%	69.7%	18.7%	55.0%
Economic indicators						
Per capita income (per 1000\$/yr)	0-105	9.7 (sd=9.9)	11.5	8.7	9.8	8.1
Experiencing Need	0/6	1.5 (sd=1.7)	1.0	1.1	2.1	1.1
Received remittances past 12 months		5.0%	8.9%	2.9%	4.3%	2.3%

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